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VOL. III. No. 8.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST

OUR TICKET THIS YEAR
For President
ALLAN L. BENSON
For Vice-President
GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

304

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1916

50c per year; \$1 per year outside United States; 25c for 40 weeks in Clubs of 4 or more except in Chicago

Railroad Czars Change Their Tune — Now It's "Arbitration"

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

THE RAILROADS are now sighing and sobbing for "arbitration".

Vociferously and in concert are they clamoring for it.

Arbitration is all they ask; it is all they know.

Just arbitration!

Their tearful appeal is sad indeed to contemplate.

Arbitration is their final hope, their last chance.

Blessed be arbitration for it shall save them from destruction!

* * * *

ISN'T it funny!

Just a few years ago these same railroads flouted arbitration, spat upon it and kicked it out of their office with indignation and contempt.

Don't you remember, Mr. R. R. President and Mr. R. R. Manager, you who are now pleading with the president of the United States for arbitration and protesting that it would be fatal to good government, to the safety of the republic and to the peace and happiness of the people to "yield the principle of arbitration"?

Don't you happen to remember the American Railway Union strike when you had the backing of the federal courts and the regular army and you sneered at your employees, "TO HELL WITH ARBITRATION!"

"There is nothing to arbitrate!"

* * * *

"NOTHING TO ARBITRATE!"

Don't you remember that this was the slogan of the railroads, and that the newspapers, the subservient organs of the corporations, carried it at the head of their columns?

"TO HELL WITH ARBITRATION; THERE IS NOTHING TO ARBITRATE!"

That was the tune of the railroads in 1894, the tune that made the General Managers' Association famous, and now these

OUR LABOR DAY ARTICLE

This article by Eugene V. Debs is our article for Labor Day. It is the most inspiring message we have to deliver to the rank and file of toil on its annual holiday. This is the inspiring story of how the railroad czars of the land have been brought to their knees. They are not now the same domineering industrial overlords they were in 1894, during the A. R. U. strike, when Debs was sent to jail, and the railroad barons felt they had crushed the growing labor movement forever. Instead we now have a working class, better educated and better organized. The task of today is to keep up this work of education and organization. Devote part of your time on Labor Day, the second day of Socialist Red Week, Sept. 3-10, to spreading this message among the workers of the land.

same Managers are entreating, begging, imploring, beseeching the president of the United States to compel their employees to arbitrate with them.

Isn't it funny? Funny enough to make the ghosts of George M. Pullman and Grover Cleveland laugh and tango?

What a somersault for the railroads! And how account for it?

Let us see.

TWENTY-TWO years ago when the Pullman strike occurred organized labor was not nearly what it is today and the Socialist movement was practically unknown. The capitalist press moulded almost absolutely the public sentiment. The few labor and radical papers were not read outside their own limited circles, and when a strike occurred the public was treated wholly to the side of the capitalist class and there was not the slightest scruple about putting the strike and the strikers in the worst possible light. The most villainous lies were told and these went practically unchallenged for the

want of a labor press to reach the people.

It was under such circumstances that the A. R. U. strikers who had won the day and were absolutely triumphant consented to arbitrate their differences with the railroads. So perfect was their faith in their cause and so certain were they of a favorable award from any kind of a board that they not only consented to arbitration but did all in their power to secure it. The railroads, however, defeated them, had not yet played their last card. Left to themselves their case was hopeless, but corporations are never left to themselves under a capitalist government, and at the very time their employees were pleading with them to arbitrate they were having their man Woods and their man Grosscup and their man Seamans and others of their lackeys on the federal bench issue their paralyzing injunctions, backed up by the regular army ordered out by their man Grover Cleveland, president of the United States.

THAT IS how the railroads answered the plea of their employees for arbitration in 1894, and these same railroads now have the monumental gall to stand before the American people and declare that to "yield the principle of arbitration" would establish a dangerous precedent and imperil good government and the future safety of the nation.

TO STILL further illustrate the brazen hypocrisy and the shameless inconsistency of the railroads, a few facts relating to the A. R. U. strike should be recalled.

When the strikers were turned down cold by the corporations, the mayor of Chicago and the governor of Illinois joined in the petition to consent to arbitration. The railroads insolently and defiantly answered: "THERE IS NOTHING TO ARBITRATE!"

The city council of Chicago next took the matter up and unanimously petitioned the railroads to consent to arbitration.

"TO HELL WITH ARBITRATION; THERE IS NOTHING TO ARBITRATE!"

The federal troops were already on the way and of course the railroads had nothing to arbitrate. They proposed to settle the question with bullets and bayonets—and they did.

THE NEXT proposition that the strikers made to the corporations was that the question as to whether there was anything to arbitrate be submitted to arbitration.

"TO HELL WITH THE WHOLE QUESTION OF ARBITRATION!"

Finally the strikers agreed to allow the corporations to name all the arbitrators. The same answer came back and in the meantime the capitalist press took up the refrain and many were the articles that appeared to show why there was nothing to arbitrate and why it would be fatal to "yield the principle" involved in the demand of the employees for arbitration.

The very same press now backing the railroads in their clamor for arbitration backed the railroads then in their insolent denial of arbitration.

CONDITIONS in the labor world have changed since 1894 and this accounts for it all. There is now a labor movement, a labor press, and a labor sentiment. The power of capitalist government and corporation misrule is no longer absolute. They can no longer do as they please. There are now too many class-conscious working people in the country. And they have votes—and what is better, know how to use them.

It now pays politically for even the president of the United States to entertain at the White House as his guests the representatives of labor unions, and it is now the railroads instead of their employees that are begging for arbitration.

And just here is where the employees make their mistake when they consent to arbitrate

their demands or, more properly, their demands, and, for there is but one. They should have held the railroads to the precedent established by themselves. When the railroads had the whip-hand they had nothing to arbitrate and the example set by them should have been followed by their employees.

When the negotiations were pending between the railroads and the brotherhoods the leaders of the latter declared publicly that they would never consent to arbitration, having previously been victimized by the shell-game arbitration that prevails under class rule. From this position, justified by all the facts in the case, the leaders of the brotherhoods have receded, with what result remains to be seen. For obvious reasons these leaders are not anxious for a strike. The railroads on the other hand are only too eager for a break, and the employees are again adroitly forced into the attitude of agreeing to submit the vital part of their demand to arbitration.

THE PRESENT demand of the railroads for arbitration is readily understood by everyone with a mind above a shell-fish. They always know what they want—and how to get it. Twenty-two years ago they spurned arbitration. At the present stage of affairs, however, arbitration is necessary in their line and what they are now after is not only to arbitrate their differences with their employees in a court under their control, but they want congressional legislation establishing "compulsory arbitration" and when they have that they will not only be assured a favorable verdict but they can lie back in comfort and security and see that verdict backed up by every federal judge and the whole United States army.

The difference in the situation of twenty-two years ago and that of today is due to the class-conscious education and organization of the working class.

LET US EDUCATE AND ORGANIZE!

War Department Stalls.

WASHINGTON.—The latest news from the War Department about the soldiers who assailed the editor of the Hamilton Socialist is a mere stall. Socialist Congressman London's vigorous protests and communications are going thru the usual routine of red tape. Here is what the highest legal officer of the War Department has to say—and he will get comfort from it who so desires:

War Department,

The Adjutant General's Office,

Washington, August 9, 1916.

Honorable Meyer London,

House of Representatives.

My dear Mr. London: The Secretary of War desires me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, in which you state that the two military assailants of Charles Baker, editor of the "Hamilton Socialist", had not yet been delivered to the civil authorities, and to inform you that all the previous papers in the case have been sent to the commanding general of the Central Department for the necessary action. The Secretary also desires me to invite your attention to the following:

"The commanding officer, before surrendering the party, is entitled to require that the application shall be sufficiently specific to identify the accused and to show that he is charged with a particular crime or offense which is within the class described in the Article. It has been further held that without a compliance with these requirements the commanding officer cannot properly surrender nor the civil authorities arrest, within a military command, an accused officer or soldier. Where it is doubtful whether the application is made in good faith and in the interests of law and justice, the commander may demand that the application be especially explicit and be sworn to; and in general the preferable and indeed only satisfactory course will be to require the production, if practicable, of a due and formal warrant or writ for the arrest of the party."

Very truly yours,

H. P. McCain,

The Adjutant General.

HE'S 80 YEARS OLD AND WORKING FOR SOCIALISM.

If every Socialist would get as interested in this year's campaign as an 80-year-old non-party member out in Colorado, then capitalism would surely tremble. Here is what our Colorado enthusiast, who does not want his name mentioned, writes:

"I wrote you a while back enclosing \$1 for the Debs campaign. I also stated I would send \$15 for the three states, New York, Illinois and Oklahoma, so please find it enclosed. I am not a member of any local nor do I pay dues, nor have I much money. I will soon be 80 years old and am anxious to see the Socialists gain. I will try to send Nevada \$2."

How many red card Socialists will do as well?

A laborer is known by the capitalists he "keeps".

People learn by doing things, but not by being done.

If you don't work your mind you may rest assured that others will work you.

Once we get the Co-operative Commonwealth there will be no further need of Don't Worry clubs.

Capitalism has to defend itself against the truth; Socialism against lies.

Money may not buy happiness, but it will sustain life until one can get it in some other way.

The rich are again talking about the "blessings of poverty." It means that they are preparing to make more poor.

Somehow Hughes has not joined a labor union yet. How would it do for him to cast his lot with the Danbury hatters?

About the only opportunity the poor man has is to make a fool of himself by voting the old party ticket.

The virtuous may be happy, but it is the other people who ride and have the good things of life.

The first bond issue for preparing for war in times of peace will be a third of a billion dollars. Before we are thru with it it will mean several billions of bonds.

Do you suppose that Hughes would have declared for national suffrage for women if Socialists had not previously announced for the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the constitution?

The nature of the jingoes is made clear by the action of congress in attacking on the military appropriations bill a measure making it unlawful to court-martial an official. It was too rank for even Wilson and he vetoed that part of it.

Whatever you may get in the way of relief from the capitalist parties will come because they are scared to granting them by the Socialist vote. Make the Socialist vote big and you will get more. Make it dominant and you will get everything you want.

General Funston in arguing for removal of the troops from Mexico on the ground that they have fulfilled their mission evidently does not refer to the capturing of Villa. The only thing accomplished was to secure the passage of the big army and navy measure.

The papers that agitated for preparedness so extensively now face possible destruction because they have put into control a united capitalism that is raising the price of print paper so that they are compelled to print nothing but piffle or else go out of business.

At last the tremendous agitation by the Rockefeller-Morgan press has borne fruit and a bond issue is to be made. In other words you will be put in debt, without your consent; for such issues are not voted on by the people.

Last Call For Socialist Red Week

A Heart to Heart Talk with the Socialists of America

BY THE CAMPAIGN MANAGER.

ELECTION day is only two months away. If we are going to do anything in this campaign we have got to begin now.

The hour has come when every local member and every loyal local of the Socialist Party must get into action if we are going to make this campaign amount to anything.

VICTORIES IN SIGHT:—In every direction big victories are in sight. Everywhere the comrades are eager to make sure of them. Everywhere the comrades are appealing to the national office for assistance. The Debs district asks for 100,000 of the Benson leaflets. In Oklahoma we have the greatest victory in sight that the Socialist Party has ever won. The comrades there are making a wonderful fight. They are straining every nerve. They call upon the national organization to contribute 280,000 of the Benson leaflets every week. We ought to do it. We must do it. The Sixth Assembly District of New York City wants 110,000 of the Benson leaflets. They can pay for them in part, but not for all of them.

Nevada needs \$500 to help wrest victory from the enemy there; the 12th Congressional District of New York wants \$500 more; Arizona, Oregon, Idaho, Colorado, Maine and New Hampshire, and other states are making most urgent appeals. In all nearly \$3,000 have already been appropriated to these various states to help in their struggles.

And so it goes. Every one of these fields are rich with possibilities. We are not giving out hot air or padded press reports. Our information is from most reliable sources. We know the possibilities. And they are great.

Shall we meet these pressing demands? Shall we seize these splendid opportunities?

FUNDS NEEDED AT ONCE:—If we do we must have funds at once. We need money to help the comrades make victory sure this fall.

We have already sent an appeal to every local secretary to be read at the meetings.

If the matter has not been presented, it becomes your duty as a member to take the matter up yourself. If you have responded or are at work—well and good. If not, hurry

in your contribution. Send something right away. The need is urgent. We ought to have \$50,000 this minute. Have your local vote an immediate contribution, if possible.

And then get hold of the subscription blanks and go out in the highways and hedges and get everybody on the list for some contribution to the National Campaign fund.

Another very clever device for raising money is the National Office Dime Bank. If you haven't any of these dime banks send in for particulars.

And remember:—This is your campaign. Nobody but you can make it go.

THE BENSON LEAFLETS: — Eight hundred and fifty thousand Benson leaflets.

That was our first big broadside. It is a good start. But we hope to see it doubled and quadrupled very quickly.

When we went to press on No. 1 of these leaflets there were orders in hand for 650,000. Before we got the run off we had to increase the order to 850,000, to meet the increasing demand. Number 2 is on the press. We have raised the order to one million. We want to make it at least 1,500,000 for No. 3.

We want every individual socialist and every local in the country to have a chance to get in on this big game.

You can order any number from twenty-five to a million, at any time and at the same rate of 50c per thousand.

Get into the game. And get in quick. Time is flying. Two of the ten leaflets are out already. Order at once.

Have this matter made a special order of business at the very next meeting of your local.

RED WEEK:—September 3rd to 10th is Socialist Red Week. For a supreme effort along these lines, every Socialist local should carry on some special activity, (however great or small) during this week.

Three immediate duties confront you, comrades: (1) To make your contribution to the national campaign fund. (2) To place your order for the Benson leaflets. (3) To make Socialist Red Week the rallying time to bring every possible force and energy into action for the campaign.

Minnesota Governor Is Shown Tool Of Steel Trust

By GEORGE P. WEST.

Every charge brought against the United States Steel Corporation by the striking iron miners of northern Minnesota is sustained in a report just submitted to Governor Burnquist by his own State Labor Commissioner.

Miners have been exploited by the contract system

The Red And The Dead

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

THE SWIFT spread of the red in the campaign this year is a happy augury for the future. The new life is taking hold of the people and the new hope is kindling in their breasts. Socialism, red as the life-tide of the race, is striking root in the hearts of the masses and all the horizon of the future is lighting up with the dawn of the morning.

The campaign this year will be fought upon the issue of the Red versus the Dead. The socialists alone have a live issue. The rest have but a corpse.

The red flag of socialism, symbolizing the awakening people and the dawn of freedom, or the black flag of capitalism, the emblem of piracy and plunder, slavery and soddness, WHICH?

Are you with the Red or the Dead, with the living present and the glowing future or the ignorant, despotic, tear-stained, blood-soaked past? With democracy and freedom or despotism and slavery, WHICH?

CAPITALISM IS ROTTEN.

CAPITALISM today is rotten to its innermost vitals and reeks with stenches that threaten pestilence to the race, and capitalism is all that the republican and democratic parties have to offer to the people.

Capitalism, the insatiable monster that gnaws at the vitals of man, woman and child, sparing not even the tenderest, seizing Europe in its skeleton clutches, has converted the old world into a hell of horrors and now threatens to overwhelm and deluge with blood the western shores.

Is this hellish system the fulfillment of your ideal? Is the prostitution of science to human slaughter, to the rape of womanhood, to the butchery of babes the realization of your dreams? Is this hideous thing so dear to you and have you so abjectly surrendered to it that you are sworn to support it the rest of your days?

Fie on you! Do not attempt to tell me why you vote for capitalism instead of socialism, why you are with the dead instead of the red. You do not yourself know. No corpse does. You have not even read the platform of your master's party and you had no more to do with making that platform than you had with making the moon. You are simply a political automaton and the likes of you are responsible for a world owned and ruled by a few thieves and tyrants and inhabited by a mass of cowards and slaves.

GREAT TO BE ALIVE.

SPEED the spread of the Red among the living! The dead will cease long to cumber the earth.

Gods, but it is great to be alive today and feel the red blood of revolutionary socialism racing thru your veins!

Now is the day and the hour to prove ourselves.

Red Week must see us all in action, every drop in us and every atom of us in the cause.

Not a slaggard must there be, but a million militants with united hearts and hands spreading the red, a million comrades shouting for Benson and Kirkpatrick and proclaiming the glad tidings of the Dawning Emancipation.

World Federation

By JOHN M. WORK.

T CAN hardly be doubted that the big war will be followed by a period of unprecedented progress in many directions.

I shall not miss my guess if it is not followed by great social and political progress.

The masses of the people everywhere will be determined that no such calamity shall befall the world again. They will be willing to do the things necessary to prevent a repetition of it.

WHETHER or not they will be willing to go immediately to the length of Socialism, I do not know. But it seems very probable to me that there will at least be a world-wide willingness to form a United States of the World, so as to bring all nations into a formal and legal compact and thereby minimize the danger of war.

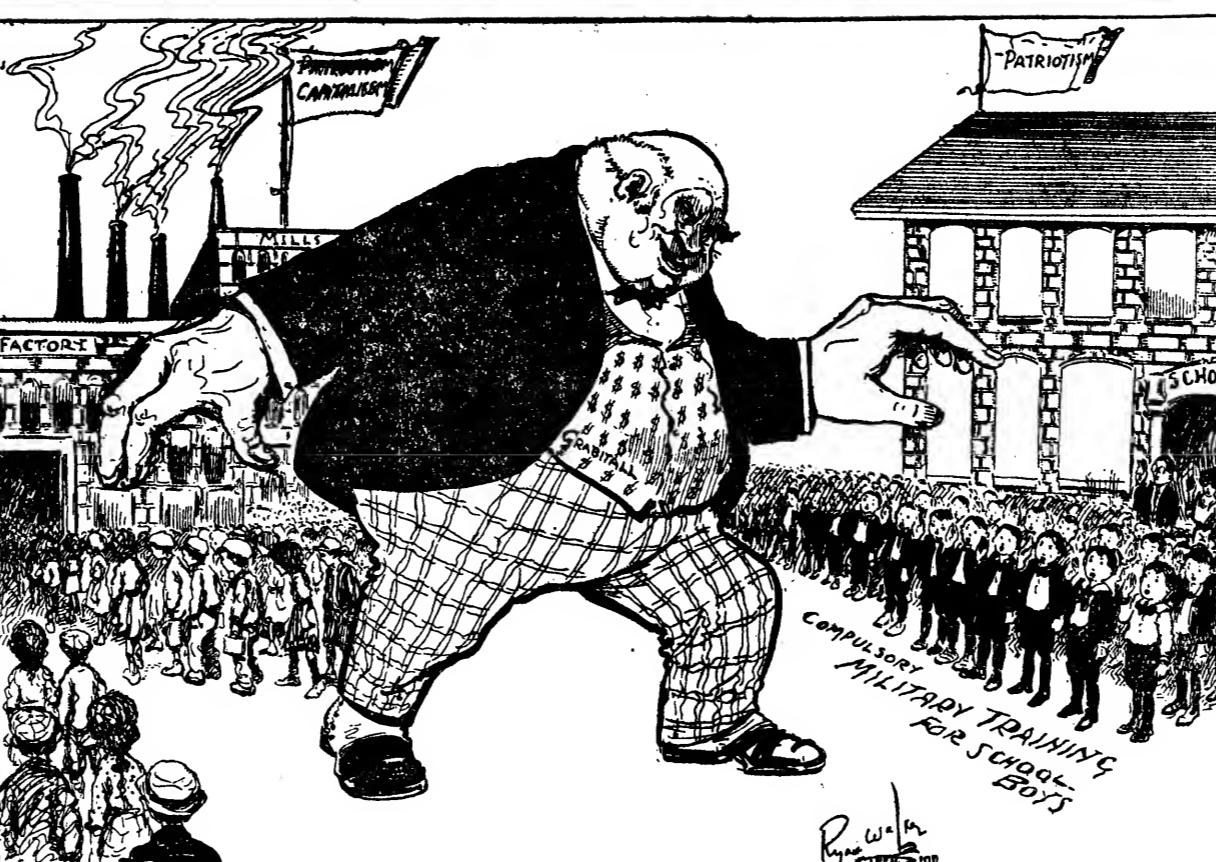
Such a federation, even if temporarily dominated by the non-Socialists, would be a long step toward Socialism. It would tend toward world brotherhood. It would tend to cause the people of the various nations to forget their narrow nationalism and become citizens of the world. It would decidedly make for the brotherhood of man.

Maybe we Socialists will have a chance to sit in at the peace negotiations and maybe we won't.

If we do, it will be up to us to make a strenuous fight for a federated world.

IF WE do not, we shall nevertheless get our views in edgeways. We will butt them in. We will take pains to impress upon the conference the necessity for world federation.

Such a federation should be one of the good results of the war. It is entirely feasible. The world is ripe for it. In my judgment, we should not lose any opportunity to drill the idea into the minds of the people, so that they will be ready to insist upon it.



GRAB-IT-ALL: — I'll take the school boys and train them as soldiers to be ready to shoot down these factory workers when they make trouble for me.

Oklahoma Afire With Enthusiasm

By CLARA SMITH

Assistant State Secretary.

ENCOURAGED and enthused with the brilliant victory won in the primary by defeating the various constitutional amendments (including the Disfranchising Literacy Test) which were initiated by the Willaims legislature, the comrades are alert to the possibilities of victory that lie before them and are straining every nerve to carry the standards of Socialism to victory in the November election.

These constitutional amendments constituted the cream of what was done by the last legislature. The fact that all went to defeat by majorities ranging from 50,000 to 85,000 is conclusive proof to the thinking man that the Machine and its unfair tactics does not meet with favor among the honest voters of this state. It is conclusive proof that they are realizing their own power and refuse to longer be ruled by a crooked political machine.

Democrats See Things.

The Democrat State Committee saw clearly that the old methods of unfairness they had been using would no longer serve their purpose. They had a rush called meeting and their expressions were to the effect that their line of attack must be changed and play somewhere near fair with the rank and file.

Expressions of fear for the strength of the Socialist party organization were common at this meeting. They deemed it best to cease their unfair tactics and abide by the constitution and laws of the state, instructing their Governor who has ruled with an iron hand, to issue the proclamations for the Fair Election and Fair Registration Laws which were initiated by the people thru the efforts of the Socialist party organization.

They know full well that these laws will be adopted by the same vote recorded against the literacy test and in order to save themselves, the machine, they advised that Williams for once play a fair hand with the people.

The campaign is sizzling at this writing and growing hotter every day. Encampments are in full blast, with record breaking attendance. Thousands upon thousands are eager to listen and learn for the first time. There will be about 200 of these encampments held during the campaign and they will average fully 1,000 each in attendance.

Make School House Campaign.

The state is full of comrades who are well versed in state matters pertaining to the campaign and are making school house campaigns, explaining in detail the proposed election laws to come to a vote in the general election.

These comrades are doing work that in the past has been a hard task to get done. All workers are loaded with literature and no one is allowed to escape.

The great literature campaign is now under way. The first of Benson's series of leaflets are in the mails enroute to the precinct committees who, with their co-workers, are waiting to receive it, horses saddled and rarin' to go; and they will ride their section line with this literature and place it in the hands of every voter in the state.

These comrades are not trying to revolutionize the whole country at once, but are content to carry their precinct for socialism. The question in Oklahoma is not so often "Shall we elect the National ticket?" as it is "Is your precinct organized?"

There will be at least five sets of these leaflets coming into the state from the National office. They will be sent in quantities sufficient in number to enable the workers to put one into the hands of every voter in the state.

300,000 Campaign Books.

The State office will send out at least four leaflets dealing with the Fair Election and Fair Registration laws and 300,000 copies of our Oklahoma Campaign Book. This campaign book will consist of 80 pages descriptive of the conditions in Oklahoma and will be full of fire from start to finish. Comrade Sinclair and other comrades have spent many hours working on the manuscript for this book and are still bending every effort to produce a book that will show wherein the interests of the producer and the exploited are not identical.

This is by far the greatest campaign ever waged in Oklahoma. All

A State For Socialism!

AT LAST we are on the threshold of a tremendous victory. Our years of labor are beginning to bring results. Oklahoma is ready to swing into the Socialist column. On election day next November the Socialists will elect a majority to the lower house and a third of the upper house of the Oklahoma legislature. The ten presidential electors of Oklahoma will vote for Benson and Kirkpatrick. Six red-card stalwarts of Oklahoma will go to the United States congress. Other state offices will be captured by the Socialist Party. These are not wild predictions. They are based on cold facts and hard figures. There are about 70,000 registered Socialists in the state of Oklahoma. In addition, thousands of Socialists have registered as democrats or republicans in order to hold their jobs and keep from getting thrown off the land by the bankers to whom they owe money. And owing to the political upheaval there are thousands on the fence ready to fall over on our side since the Socialist Party is the winning party in the state. The splendid organization of the Oklahoma Socialist Party is prepared for the tremendous responsibilities. This organization is undoubtedly the most efficient of any of the states. This is not a matter of theory—experience has proved this. The rank and file and the leaders are shrewd and practical Americans. They know their Marx but they also know their local political conditions. They are not hampered by dogmas. They apply the Socialist theory to the needs of their state.

That they have found the golden key to success is proved by the uninterrupted growth of the Socialist vote, the red card organization and the Appeal circulation. Altho Oklahoma is not one of the big states in point of population, it leads the Socialist Party in votes and party membership. For several months the Oklahoma Socialist Party has averaged \$500 a month in dues to the National Office. Its growth has not been of the mushroom variety. It developed steadily from year to year. It is the result of the hardest kind of work. While the Oklahoma movement makes its principal appeal to the tenant and mortgaged farmers of the state, it is not merely an agrarian movement. The working class of the cities are also enlisted under its banner. The farmers and the wage earners are not only interested in the immediate demands of the Socialist Party—they stand unflinchingly for International Socialism. The immediate issues are seized upon not only to interest the voters but also to clear the way for the Cooperative Commonwealth. A complete victory in Oklahoma means the first effort to expropriate the expropriators—the establishment of Socialism in the United States! REJOICE, COMRADES, WE ARE WINNING!—From the Appeal to Reason.

NOTE.—Do you want to help carry Oklahoma? You can do this by sending in your contribution to our "Win Oklahoma Fund". This fund will be used to send 250,000 of the Benson Campaign Leaflets to Oklahoma each week for five weeks, 1,400,000 in all. Send your contributions to The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

Make School House Campaign.

indications are that the Socialist party is in the race.

President Wilson is not talked of much except by a few politicians.

Democrats are taking very little interest in the campaign.

As it is generally known that Hughes is the tool of Wall street, he is not popular with the rank and file of the Republicans, especially in the country. Every indication is for a landslide for the working-class party.

Oklahoma Comrades Alive.

No grass is growing under the feet of the comrades in this state; they are alive to the situation and are determined to win the day.

Discouraged with their first defeat in this state, the Democrats have been driven to cover and are trusting to luck to save them.

So the revolution goes on and by November there will be no one left but the Socialists who dare announce their politics. Truly in this campaign Oklahoma is afire with enthusiasm and the glad news of victory will be heralded after November 7th.

The legislative halls of the New State Capitol will be completed by Jan. 1st, and the Socialists will have a majority in the lower house, take possession, and block the Democrat Machine in its undemocratic tactics for two years to come.

Paul Schultz of Chicago is head of one of the largest baking institutions in the country. Recently he said a 6 cent loaf of bread is inevitable if the present high price of wheat continues.

It is declared the Chicago packers are financially interested in his bakery and really control it. The Chicago packers are steadily increasing the price of meat and naturally they do not want to permit any reduction in the price of bread, for that would compel them to reduce the price of their meat, or people would eat more bread and less meat, especially the poor. The food trust will not permit cheaper bread or cheaper meat if it can prevent.

But the people can force cheaper bread and cheaper meat by abolishing the profit system and driving the food exploiters out of business. Let us do it now!

Even the prospect of having a big army is enabling the master class to hold up the nation. Look at the price of things the people use.

Dispel The Ignorance Of The Masses-Meyer London's Plea

By MEYER LONDON.

Socialist Member of Congress.

AT NO time in the history of this country has the political situation been so clear as it is in this campaign. We Socialists have always been saying that so far as the propertyless masses are concerned, the Republican and Democratic parties are identical. While it is true that the Republican party receives more generous support from, and is looked upon as a nearer relative by, the magnates of industry and finance, the Democratic party has not shaken off, and has no apparent intention to shake off, the influence of the very same financial and industrial powers.

THERE IS nothing in the old platform of the Republican party which has not been absorbed and appropriated by the Democrats. The tariff on dyestuffs, the anti-dumping law (which is another name for a stupid tariff law), the tariff commission whose experts will have to manipulate figures according to whether upward or downward revision is required—all three laws enacted by a Democratic administration—eliminated every prestige of distinction between the two parties.

That is why the fight between the two old parties is so dull, so uninteresting. Poor Hughes is trying to clutch at any floating straw. His old issues have been stolen, and he is not the man to raise new issues.

NOW MORE than ever the issue of today and of the days to follow stands out plainly before all thinking men: Are we working toward industrial democracy, toward social democracy, or away from it. Are we working for real peace within this nation, and between this nation and the rest of the world?

That is the issue today. It is up to the Socialists to pound away at it. Nothing short of industrial democracy will satisfy us, and this within our life time. We want every man to have access to the land. We demand the restoration of the natural resources to the people. We demand the nationalization and democratic management of all natural and unnatural monopolies. We refuse to be scared into believing that the country is in danger from external enemies.

There is only one enemy—the ignorance of the masses. To dispel ignorance is our chief duty.

Let The Nation Own The Railroads

By CARL D. THOMPSON.

THE PRIVATE ownership of railroads is a failure. It won't work.

The private owners of railroads are so greedy for profits that they keep forcing up the freight rates and forcing up the passenger rates. When the people that work for the roads ask for a shorter work day or a better wage, the owners balk and threaten to force and break a strike.

The owners want more profits. This giant organization of capital threatens to tie up the transportation of the country and paralyze the life of the nation.

This is private ownership.

THE NET earnings of the railroads in 1914, after all fixed and other charges, including taxes, were deducted, were \$697,702,775. That is according to the reports of the railroads themselves as reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Clifford Thorne, Chairman of the State Railroad Commission of Iowa, says the net earnings are even greater than that. He shows that they were not far from \$800,000,000 per year. Eight hundred million dollars!

Look at those figures again. Read them over and then do some thinking. And then recall the fact that the very next year after the railroads cleared up that \$800,000,000 they succeeded in forcing up freight rates and passenger rates.

And then again recall another fact, to wit, that just now, in the month of August, 1916, these same railroads are resisting to the last ditch, and almost to the point of forcing a strike that would paralyze the nation, rather than allow a basic eight hour day because it would cost them a few millions of their profits.

Such are the results of private ownership.

OTHER people and other nations found these things out long ago. And they abolished private ownership.

All the important nations of the world now own and operate publicly their railway systems. And while public ownership brings no millennium it does solve the railroad problem, to a gratifying degree.

Conditions of labor are better; rates are lower and more satisfactory; the service is improved; travel and transportation are less dangerous and less murderous; the railroads are better financed; and the general conditions of the countries are more stable and secure.

PUBLIC ownership has solved or is solving the railroad problem all over the world. It will solve it here in the United States.

And it is the only solution.

And the only real public ownership party is the Socialist Party.

And the only real public ownership candidates are the Socialist candidates.

The election of a candidate to represent Reichenbach, an industrial town in Prussia, near Liegnitz, resulted in an anti-war Socialist, Herr Muller, toppling the poll by a large majority. His opponent was supported by all the other parties, and the result of the election is regarded as a sign of the times, as Muller is a strong supporter of the victimized Socialist leader, Karl Liebknecht. The rulers don't like the result, but as they control the machinery of government they will continue to jam down the iron heel wherever they deem it necessary.

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Do You Want Debs In Congress?

By MAYNARD SHIPLEY.
Associate Campaign Manager.
Fifth Indiana Congressional District.

The most frequent question put to me on my journey to Terre Haute was this: "What do you think of Comrade Debs' chances of going to Congress?" There were very few instances in which this question was not put as soon as formal greetings had been exchanged. Always the inquirer asked me to convey to Comrade Debs his or her kindest regards and best wishes. "Tell 'Gene we're with him!" Many volunteered the information that their Local was going to make a donation to the Debs campaign fund. Comrade Wilson tells me that a number of these promises have been fulfilled.

In answer to the question, "Will Debs win?" I answered then, and answer now, after being four days in Terre Haute, Debs can win only if sufficient funds are forthcoming wherewith to carry on a thorough-going educational campaign. Debs' personal popularity in Terre Haute, his home town, will not insure Debs votes in certain large rural districts where the principles and platform of the Socialist Party are not even hazily comprehended.

This is the BIG FACT that I wish to bring home to the comrades who may read these lines: The lovable personality of Comrade Debs, his long and loyal devotion to the cause of the oppressed, his eloquent tongue and pen, his astonishing power and endurance as a campaigner, not all of these mighty factors combined are adequate to insure the election of "Our Gene" to Congress. To these elements that make for success we must add a persistent and systematic educational campaign, both by voice and by distribution of effective literature. This is well. It is better so. To those of us who look upon this effort to send Debs to Congress from this district as an opportunity to effect a real and permanent advance of Socialism, the terms of victory are entirely satisfactory. We should be content with no cheap and misleading victory, followed later by the inevitable reaction. If we are in earnest, if we are really desirous of seeing Comrade Debs elected, let us see to it that the votes that are to send him there are Socialist VOTES — votes cast for Socialism, as well as for Debs.

Do I think that Comrade Debs will be elected to Congress?

Wers I to take the sentiment prevailing here in Terre Haute for a guide, I should unquestionably answer, "Yes, I know he'll be elected." But I can't. Let us not deceive ourselves. Rather let us, as co-workers in a great historical, evolutionary movement, look squarely at the bald facts in the case. Debs will be elected.

Need Big Vote Increase.

The Socialists of the United States will supply sufficient funds to raise the normal Socialist vote of the Fifth Congressional District of Indiana from about 4,000, as cast for the Socialist candidate in 1912, to from 16,000 to 20,000 (necessary to Debs election) in 1916.

Speakers now working in the district report splendid meetings and a population eager to hear the Socialist philosophy and economics discussed. Everywhere they go, our organizers meet with large and attentive audiences. But there are so many places to go! And the visits, speeches and distributions of leaflets must be followed up, time and again, before real Socialists can be made in great numbers.

Yes, I sincerely believe that Comrade Debs will be elected to Congress on Nov. 7th, 1916!

Because I believe that as soon as the Socialists throughout this nation realize the magnitude of the task before us, they will supply the funds necessary to carrying on the great

Henry Dubb is Henry Dubb, No Matter Where



By RYAN WALKER.



vocates, and the S. P. was frequently referred to in a complimentary manner by delegates on the floor and in the discussions that were had in the lobby. The supposed "intolerant" spirit of the S. P. appears to be becoming better understood, which was also indicated in the close attention and responsive manner in which the address of your delegate was received, especially my reference to the fact that the old political parties no longer battle over fundamental principles and seem wholly concerned in killing off radical movements that may promise some temporary relief to oppressed sections of the people; that the Socialist party believes that if a principle is worth harboring it is worth fighting for rather than living on the ridiculous hope that the conservative and reactionary machines can be chloroformed into adopting and defending radical ideas worth while; and that the Single Taxers need expect no concessions to speak of from the old parties, as their 30 years struggle abundantly testifies. While the Socialist movement is sympathetically and historically committed to the so-called single tax, the very first fighting plank in the Communist Manifesto reading: "Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes."

Numerous resolutions were introduced dealing with the European war, the Mexican situation, militarism, strikes, etc.; but substantially all were "omnibus" in a substitute for the whole reported by the resolutions committee declaring, in effect, that the evils complained of would be remedied by solving the land problem according to the program of single tax. The efforts of the progressive elements in California and Oregon to amend their State Constitutions to permit the adoption of single tax, paying old age pensions, etc., were enthusiastically endorsed, and good wishes were also extended to the Pennsylvania members who are striking politically from the Steel Trust.

They Have Troubles, Too.

It was interesting to note, too, that our Single Tax friends have pretty much the same troubles as the Socialists to keep their press from falling into the hands of the sheriff. The reports of deficits and hand-to-mouth existence on the part of individuals and associations operating newspapers had a familiar sound, but no other solution of that little financial problem was suggested than the hope that friends and sympathizers would "dig up" and the patient, sacrificing owners, editors, etc., would continue their noble efforts to bring victory to the great cause.

As a whole the Single Taxers are an earnest, sincere and enthusiastic group of men and women, and the practical field workers, who meet the hard bumps experienced by all propagandists who come in contact with modern capitalism and its seemingly endless lines of defenses, are displaying a much more robust spirit toward the Socialist movement than was shown a dozen years ago, when our Tax friends were hopeful of capturing the Democratic party and training it to eat out of their hands. I have watched this movement for a quarter of a century, was rather partisan to it before entering the Socialist party and still have a natural sympathy for it, but I am more convinced than ever that with their so-called non-partisan political policy and loose method of organization the Single Taxers will get nowhere, except perhaps secure recognition here and there for some member in an election or appointment to public office, where party fealty and interest must come first and single tax last. The Taxers appear to be still imbued with that anarchistic taint or bugaboo that finds expression in the dread of centralization and discipline, which, rightly directed, produce the highest and best form of efficiency, and which, thru the initiative, referendum, and recall, make democracy a reality rather than a catchphrase and guarantee the liberty and rights of every individual.

The premises of all Berlin Socialist clubs were raided by the police, according to an Exchange Telegraph company dispatch from Geneva. Many persons were arrested, the advice of state, and it is reported that large quantities of peace manifestoes and pamphlets were seized.

Single Taxers Hear Socialist

NOTE—When an invitation was received by the National Socialist Party to send a representative to the conference at Niagara Falls, the national executive committee selected Max S. Hayes, of Cleveland, Ohio, editor of The Cleveland Citizen, to attend the conference and present the position of the Socialist Party. Hayes had made with a cordial reception from the single taxers and reports on the conference as follows:

By MAX S. HAYES.

The National Joseph Fels Fund Commission Conference was attended by about 250 delegates and visitors and transacted a large amount of routine business in its three days session. It should be stated at the outset that the Fels Fund Commission is an incorporated body of seven members, that it meets once a year and delegates from other Single Tax bodies are invited to attend these sessions and participate in the proceedings, but the latter legally may act only in an advisory capacity—that the Fels Fund Commissioners are in no way bound to observe the mandate of a majority of the conference unless disposed to do so.

The high spot in the Niagara Falls gathering was the decision arrived at by the Fels Fund Commission to reorganize as an international body to carry on its propaganda in other countries besides the United States. For that reason a committee was appointed to take a survey of national affairs and report to a general convention next year such recommendations as may seem advisable. The 1917 gathering will then map out the future policy of the Single Tax movement in this country and decide whether the present manner of conducting the educational and propaganda work shall be continued in a non-partisan way, or whether it shall be supplemented by establishing a distinct political party, and enrolled membership and other machinery similar to that controlled by the Socialist party.

There was a strong undercurrent manifested favoring the formation of a political party to battle for power in Nation, State and municipality independent of parties now in the field. In this connection it may be observed that, while numerous individual Single Taxers hold elective and appointive positions from Senators to poularders, a strong and enthusiastic minority is dissatisfied with that policy, claiming that the confusion that ensues tends to devalue and obscure the propaganda to tax away or confiscate the rental value of land.

Some Want New Party.

Those who oppose the old policy have already begun organizing a new party, candidates having been nominated for Congress and other offices in Pennsylvania, and they claim that men and women of their faith in New Jersey, Delaware and other Eastern States as well as on the Pacific Coast are rapidly coming to their way of thinking.

It is also true that the Socialist party policy is regarded with a friendly eye by the political party ad-

Here's The Second Of The Ten Benson Leaflets

Europe's Curse Upon Us!

By ALLAN L. BENSON.

Socialist Candidate For President.

EUROPE'S curse—militarism—has fallen upon the United States. Do not take my word for this statement—read the official figures on the second page of this leaflet.

The Wilson administration has just jammed thru Congress the greatest military appropriations that were ever made by any nation in time of peace.

Study the official figures in the table at the bottom of the next page. They represent the military appropriations made by the nations now at war for the fiscal year that ended June 30, 1914.

Well, have you read anywhere in these same papers anything concerning the results of this stupendous recruiting campaign? No, you have not, not unless you read all the little items stuck away down at the bottom of the page or among the huge ads.

How differently they handle the news!

But here is a little item that appeared in that arch-jingo sheet, The Chicago Tribune, that is worth passing on:

"Washington, D. C., Aug. 17. (Special)—The recruiting section of the adjutant general's office no longer issues weekly reports on the success of the efforts to add to the army personnel. When Mexican action was likely recruiting bounded upward, but when it became unlikely once more recruiting began to diminish."

Another way of stating that last paragraph is to say that under the pressure of the great publicity campaign conducted by the jingo press of the land, a few more than usual joined the army. But immediately this campaign diminished in volume the recruiting dropped to such an extent that the government officials have decided to hide the results from the public. Did militarism ever confess a greater failure?

The next step of course is to enforce universal military service—to drive men into the army and navy against their desire. The best way to head off this diabolical militarist plot is to roll up such a big vote for Socialism this fall that the war-makers will be scared almost to death and forget their schemes altogether.

CONSIDER the fact that Mr. Hughes and his party criticize the Wilson military appropriations only because they are not larger.

Ask yourself what is the significance of the fact that our military appropriations have become so stupendous that, beside them, the German appropriations look small.

IF YOU value your life and the lives of the members of your family, do not shrink from these facts. It is better to think than to be shot. Europe is at war because, in time of peace, it neglected to face facts and deal with them.

Make up your mind to this: Militarism is a great evil or it is not. If it is not a great evil, we should go down upon our knees and beg the Kaiser's pardon for what we have said about him and his militarism.

IF WE STILL REGARD MILITARISM AS A GREAT EVIL, WE SHOULD DENOUNCE IT AS MUCH IN THE UNITED STATES AS WE HAVE DENOUNCED IT IN GERMANY.

We should not tolerate here what we believe has brought disaster abroad.

Nor should we accept the statements of our great capitalists and great statesmen that militarism is not here.

DID not the great capitalists and great statesmen of Germany always deny that militarism was there?

Must we wait until confessions come from the interests that are back of our militarism?

Why should we expect them to confess? The German militarists never confessed.

If we who live in this country value our lives, we must face the facts of our militarism.

In Leaflet Form!

NOTE—This article by Allan L. Benson, our candidate for president, goes into the second two-page leaflet in the great Benson Campaign Series—ten leaflets in all, a different one each week from now until the end of the campaign. The first leaflet went out last week. You should place your order for this second leaflet and the remaining eight leaflets immediately with the National Campaign Headquarters, Socialist Party, 803 West Madison Street, Chicago. The price is 50 cents per thousand; \$4.50 for 1,000 each of the nine remaining leaflets in the series; 9,000 in all. Make your orders bigger or smaller, just as you like.

ism and deal with them intelligently—AT ONCE.

REGARDLESS of what President Wilson says, what we have here now is the greatest militarism that the world, in time of peace, ever saw.

The American people are not militaristically inclined, any more than the people of Germany were militaristically inclined.

The people, everywhere, are for peace. But great capitalists everywhere are in search of foreign trade. Our great capitalists have, as a result of the European war, picked up the bulk of Europe's foreign trade.

Our great capitalists know that, the war ended, Europe will try to recover her trade. Our Rockefellers and Morgans do not intend to give it back. That is why they want a tremendous navy.

THEY want an enormous army to keep the poverty-stricken workers of the United States from attacking strike-breakers. You may have noticed the other day that 25,000 militiamen intended for the Mexican border were to be kept at home lest a great railway strike should break out.

Our capitalists expect to have much use for soldiers after the European war ends. They expect to pay wages so low that workers will be goaded into strikes. Why do they expect to pay low wages? Because they know that poverty-stricken Europe will all but compete them off their feet to get back her foreign trade. They expect Europe to offer the world cheap goods. Our capitalists also intend to offer cheap goods. Our capitalists will get their profit from foreign trade, but American workers will get only wages that will afford the poorest living that they can be compelled to accept.

Do you want foreign trade in order that you may work more at bare-living wages?

Do you want to be taxed for military purposes as foreigners who have fled here were never taxed at home in time of peace?

We cannot whip all of Europe, yet all of Europe will combine against us, if necessary, to get back its trade. And our great capitalists will, if necessary, plunge us into war to hold their trade.

A TREMENDOUS Socialist vote this fall will be a warning to our capitalists to stop! Every other party is in favor of the Wilson military program or something worse.

WE BEG YOU TO HELP US TO SAVE THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FROM THOSE WHO, FOR MERE GAIN, WOULD AFFLICT IT WITH WAR.

Army and Navy Appropriations Of The Chief Belligerent Nations For The Year Preceding The War.

	Army	Navy	Total
Great Britain.....	\$224,300,000	\$237,530,459	\$461,830,459
Germany.....	183,090,000	112,091,125	293,181,125
France.....	191,431,580	90,164,625	281,596,205
Russia.....	317,800,000	117,508,657	435,308,657
Austro-Hungary.....	82,300,000	42,000,000	124,300,000
Italy.....	82,928,000	49,550,147	132,478,147
Japan.....	49,000,000	48,105,152	97,105,152
United States.....	\$349,092,123*	\$313,384,389	\$662,476,512

*This includes \$25,747,550 for fortifications, \$20,000,000 for a nitrate plant, \$34,523,000 for deficiency and \$1,225,043 for the Military academy.

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